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Cleta Mitchell, Esq. Foley & Lardner 3000 K Street, NW, #500 Washington, DC 20007

MAR 26 2009

RE:

MUR 5831 Softer Voices

Dear Ms. Mitchell:

On October 6, 2006, the Federal Election Commission notified your client of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint was forwarded to your client at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, and information supplied by your client, the Commission, on February 11, 2099, found time there is reason to believe Softer Voices violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434 and 441a(f), provisions of the Act. Also on this date, the Commission found that there is no reason to believe that Softer Voices violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a, 434 and 441e. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formul a basis for the Commission's findings, is attached for your information.

You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of receipt of this letter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. In the absence of additional information, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has supported and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in passuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon manipt of the sequest, the Office of the Gaussial Counsel will make accommendations to the Commission either purposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of sines will not be restinely general. Requests must be made in whiting at least five days paid to the date of the respense and specific good cause must be

Cleta Mitchell, Eaq. MUR 5831 Page 2

demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you have any questions, please contact Assistant General Counsel Mark Shonkwiler or Philip Olaya, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

On behalf of the Commission,

Steven T. Walther

Chairman

Enclosure
Factual and Legal Analysis

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

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4 RESPONDENT: Softer Voices MUR: 5831

L INTRODUCTION

This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Commission by Stanley E.

Levine. Ser 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1). The complaint alleges that Suffur Voices, an entity organized under Sentian 527 of the Internal Revenue Code, spent over a million dollars, raised outside the limitations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, (the "Act") to influence the 2006 Senate election in Pennsylvania between Rick Santorum and Bob Casey. The complaint also alleges that Softer Voices failed to register with the Commission and properly report its activities to the Commission. It is also alleged that Softer Voices coordinated expenditures with Santorum 2006, Senator Santorum's principal campaign committee, resulting in excessive contributions to Santorum 2006, and that a Softer Voices' donor, Jack Templeton, was a foreign national who contributed prohibited funds to Softer Voices.

II. FACTUAL SUMMARY

Softer Voices was established on July 15, 2004 and fibre disclosure reports with the Internal Revenue Service under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code. 26 U.S.C. § 527. It has not registered with the Commission as a political committee. In reports filed with the IRS, Softer Voices reports raising \$1,403,300 and spending \$1,266,000 during the 2006 election

A complaint filed by Democracy 21 and the Campaign Legal Center alleging violations by Softer Voices was designated as MUR 5854, but subsequently those allegations were severed from MLIR 5854 and merged into MUR 5831.

- cycle, with the bulk of this activity occurring between September and November of the election
- 2 year. Although it did not report receiving any corporate or labor organization contributions,
- 3 \$1,355,000 of Softer Voices receipts were from individuals in amounts exceeding \$5,000. Since
- 4 the election. Softer Voices has not updated its website to reflect new activity, has made no public
- statements reported in the press, and has not reported any new activity to the IRS.

Softer Voices' activities and public statements in 2006 all referenced Serrator Rick

Santorum or his 2006 general electrism emponent, Rebest Cassy. The group's weissitar

promisently features images of Santorum and shows media player clips of Softer Voices' various advertisements. The website also features excerpts of a book written by Rick Santorum and speeches given by him in the Senate. Prominently displayed on the webpage are links to newspaper articles describing Softer Voices, including a link entitled: "Political Group Shells

Out \$1M To Boost Santorum's Popularity With Women." The linked article reports that Softer Voices sought to "soften the image of Senator Santorum of Pennsylvania in the hope of boosting his standing with female voters and saving his Senate seat for the Republican Party." See MUR 5854 Complaint, Exhibit F. In the same article, Lisa Schiffren, the co-founder of Softer Voices, is quoted as having stated that the group's ads sought to influence voters (e.g., "It's really important for consumvatives to remarkber and for voters to remember that weither resum was a conservative issue and that people life Rick Santorum made it happen ..."). Id. (emphasis added).

² Office materials on the welfsite describe the organization as "a conservative issue advocacy organization ... particularly concerned with national security issues, as well as issues which affect our economy and free markets, the success and viability of our nation's families, and the culture necessary for a free and democratic society." Although it is not mentioned in any of its website materials, or in the complaint or response, Softer Voices sponsored advertising during the 2004 election that referenced George W. Bush.

The complaint alleges that Softer Voices raised its funds through large donations from Santorum supporters, who, according to a Philadelphia Inquirer article, donated "as much as they legally could to Santorum's campaign - and then gave thousands more to Softer Voices." See MUR 5854 Complaint, Exhibit G. Schiffren, in commenting about 527 organizations in the article, reportedly stated that "of course, it is a way around campaign finance law." Id. No fundraising splicitations were included in the complaint or response, and we currently are unable to community what sort of passage was communicated to potential duryout in written or varied appeals. However, fundraising massages on the wabaits were placed next to clips of

advertisements described below referencing Santorum and his 2006 candidacy, stating: "Support

Softer Voices. Please help us keep this ad on the air."

All five Softer Voices video ads shown on its website identify Rick Santorum, and two of them also name Bob Casey and cast him in a critical light. As discussed below, at least one of the ads appears to expressly advocate Rick Santorum's election. Two advertisements, found on the website, but not discussed in the complaint, address the global war on terrorism and broadly assert that Santorum is an experienced leader on national security issues and that Casey lacks experience needed to provide similar leadership in this area. The ad, "We the People," shows insense of Osama fain Ladan and other terrorists, and claims that "we live in a warid of danger" and that Bob Casey is still learning about these threats. The ad concludes with the placese: "Case we really risk Bob Casey learning on the job? (audio and text)³ Rick Santorum. Real.

Experienced. Leadership. (text only)" Another ad, "Tough Enough," depicts images of the World Trade Center attacks, Americans being tortured in Iraq, and a mock nuclear attack on

The word "reality" in this sentence is spaken on the ad's applie, but is omitted from the text shown on the screen.

- 1 Pittsburgh. After describing these threats and Santorum's experience, the ad concludes by
- 2 stating: "Senator Rick Santorum is leading the effort to prevent a nuclear Iran. Don't we need
- 3 leaders tough enough to face such a threat?"
- Two other ads, which were referenced in the complaint, focus on Santorum's hiring of
- 5 Billy Jo Morton, a former welfare recipient, to work in one of his state offices. The ads praise
- 6 Santorum for giving Ms. Morton the opportunity to improve her life. One version of the ad only
- 7 discusses Ms. Morton's story, while a second varsion relates her story to the broader issue of
- 8 writter reform, asserting that flantorum favors welfare reform and that Casey opposes it. 4 The
- 9 "Billy Jo" ad also serves as the basis for the complaint's allegation that Softer Voices
- 10 coordinated expenditures with Santorum's campaign. The complaint asserts that the ad was
- derived from Rick Santorum's book "It Takes a Family," where Ms. Morton's story was first
- 12 told. Disclosure reports demonstrate that Softer Voices paid a fee to Santorum's publisher for
- the right to excerpt the story from the book. The complaint alleges that it is "extremely likely
- that Santorum, or agents of Santorum or his campaign, were aware of and consented to the sale
- of rights to Softer Voices, which then used those rights to publicize the story of Ms. Morton to
- 16 help Santorum's re-election effort. The awareness and consent of Santorum or his agents
- 17 constitutes amont to a suggestion for purposes of the coordination standard; it also constitutes
- 18 material involvement in the contest of the advertisements." MUR 5831 Complaint, at &

⁴ A fifth ad, which also was identified in the complaint, is apparently titled "Rick Santorum Gets It," and features
Jon Shestak, a "leading advocate for autistic kids." The ad features a testimonial from Mr. Shestak in which he states
that "what everyone with someone with autism needs to know is that Rick Santorum is the greatest champion in
Congress our kids have ever had."

The Santorum Committee response, submitted jointly with Softer Voices, claims that
neither the candidate nor his authorized committee had "involvement with the publisher on the
sale or license" of the book excerpts, and notes that the complaint produced "no evidence
whatsoever to support [its] allegations and none exists." Santorum/Softer Voices Response at 2
The response explains that Softer Voices made the payment for licensing rights to utilize
excerpts of the book and contends that the payment constituted "evidence first all disbursements
by Softer Yoices wante made independently of any candidate or committee." Id. Streator
Santorum and the Santorum Committee deny having any involvement with the publisher's
decision to sell the book rights to Softer Voices.

Finally, the complaint alleges that one of Softer Voices' major donors, Jack Templeton, is not a U.S. citizen and that his donations to Softer Voices may have resulted in prohibited contributions under FECA. Templeton, who donated \$630,000 to Softer Voices, was described in a newspaper article attached to the complaint as a citizen of the Bahamas. *See* MUR 5854 Complaint, Exhibit F. The response claims that the complainant is confusing donor Templeton with Templeton's similarly named father (John Templeton of the Bahamas), and that the donor is in fact a U.S. citizen.

III. ANALYSIS

A. Political Committee Status

Softer Voices may be a "political committee" subject to the contribution limitations, source prohibitions, and reporting requirements of the Act. See 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4)(A), 433, 434,

The response also claims that no excerpts were actually used by Softer Voices. But, the Billy Jo Morton story was described in Santorum's book and seems to have inspired the advertisement even if no direct lines from the book were used in the exit product.

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- 441a, and 441b. The Act defines a "political committee" as any committee, club, association, or
- 2 other group of persons that receives "contributions" or makes "expenditures" for the purpose of
- 3 influencing a federal election which aggregate in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year.
- 4 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A). To address overbreadth concerns, the Supreme Court has held that only
- 5 organizations whose major purpose is campaign activity can potentially qualify as political
- 6 committees under the Act. See, e.g., Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 79 (1976); FEC v.
- 7 Manuachusetts Clitzens for Life, 479 U.S. 238, 262 (1986) ("MCFL"). The Commission has long
- 8 applied the Count's major purpose test in determining whather an organization is a "political
- 9 committee" under the Act, and it interprets that test as limited to organizations whose major
- 10 purpose is federal campaign activity. See Political Committee Status: Supplemental Explanation
- and Justification, 72 Fed. Reg. 5595, 5597, 5601 (Feb. 7, 2007).

1. Softer Voices Has Made Expenditures Exceeding \$1,000

In determining whether an organization makes an expenditure, the Commission "analyzes whether expenditures for any of an organization's communications made independently of a candidate constitute express advocacy either under 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a), or the broader definition at 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(b)." Supplemental Explanation and Justification, Political Committee Status, 72 Fed. Reg. 5595, 5606 (Feb. 7, 2007). Under the Commission's regulations, a communication contains express advocacy when it uses phranes such as "vote for the President," "re-elect your Congressman," or "Smith for Congress," or uses campaign slogans or words that in context have no other reasonable meaning than to urge the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates, such as posters, bumper stickers, or advertisements that say, "Nixon's the One," "Carter '76," "Reagan/Bush," or "Mondale!" See 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a);

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- see also MCFL, 479 U.S. at 249 ("[The publication] provides in effect an explicit directive: vote
- 2 for these (named) candidates. The fact that this message is marginally less direct than "Vote for
- 3 Smith" does not change its essential nature."). Courts have held that "express advocacy also
- 4 includes verbs that exhort one to campaign for, or contribute to, a clearly identified candidate."
- 5 FEC v. Christian Coalition, 52 F.Supp. 2d 45, 52 (D.D.C. 1999) (explaining why Buckley, 424
- 6 U.S. at 44, n.52, included the word "support," in addition to "vote for" or "elect," on its list of
- 7 examples of express adviscar: y communication).

The Commission's regulations further provide that express advocacy includes communications containing an "electoral portion" that is "unmistakable, unambiguous, and suggestive of only one meaning" and about which "reasonable minds could not differ as to whether it encourages actions to elect or defeat" a candidate when taken as a whole and with limited reference to external events, such as the proximity to the election. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(b). In its discussion of then-newly promulgated section 100.22, the Commission stated that "communications discussing or commenting on a candidate's character, qualifications or accomplishments are considered express advocacy under new section 100.22(b) if, in context, they have no other reasonable meaning than to encourage actions to elect or defeat the candidate in quantion." See 60 Fed. Reg. 35292, 35295 (July 6, 1995).

In FEC v. Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc., 551 U.S. _____, 127 S.Ct. 2652 (2007) (WRTL), the U.S. Supreme Court held that "an ad is the functional equivalent of express advocacy," and thus subject to the ban against corporate funding of electioneering communications, "only if the ad is susceptible of no reasonable interpretation other than as an appeal to vote for or against a specific candidate." Id., 127 S.Ct. at 2667. Although 11 C.F.R. § 100.22 was not at issue in the matter, the Court's analysis included examining whether the electioneering communication had "indicia of express advocacy" such as the "mention [of] an election, candidacy, political party, or challenger" or whether it "take[a] a position on a cassidate's character, qualifications, or fitness for office." Id. The Commission subsequently incorporated the principles set field in the WRTL epinion into its regulations governing permitable uses of comparate and labor organization fanals for electionstering examinational at 11 C.F.R. § £14.15. See Final Rule on Bientimessing Comparationalisms, 72 Fed. Seg. 72899, 72914 (Dec. 26, 2007).

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At least one Softer Voices' advertisement, "We the People", contains express advocacy under 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(a) because it uses individual words that in context can have no reasonable meaning other than to urge the election of Santorum or defeat of Casey. The ad depicts photographs of Santorum and his electoral opponent Casey, attacks Casey's qualifications and praises Santorum's, and concludes "Can we really risk Bob Casey learning on the job?" This ad is express advocacy because it identifies a candidate and references the office of Senator When it refers to a "jitb." The only way that a viewer could "nick Bab Casey learning on the job" would be by voting for him for the "jos" of Semmer. Thus, the ad exhants viewers to defeat Casey and not take the "risk." Moreover, the use of "risk" as a verb in the seatence is equivalent to the use of verbs such as "vote for" or "elect." The ad also states: "Rick Santorum. Real. Experienced. Leadership." This statement is centered on the candidate and references personal characteristics unrelated to any issue. Further, the use of the word "leadership" is a reference to his election to the office of Senator, where he would be a leader. The ad does not direct the reader to take action to express a view on a public policy issue or urge the reader to take some action other than to vote for Santorum. It also appears that this advertisement contains express advocacy within the meaning of 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(b) because the ad touts Santorum's character, qualifications, and accomplishments and attacks Casey's character, qualifications, and accomplishments "and

reasonable minds could not differ as to whether it encourages actions to elect or defeat a

proximity to the election. 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(b).

candidate" when taken as a whole and with limited reference to external events, such as the

Because Softer Voices paid for at least one advertisement that appears to contain express

- advocacy, the related disbursements may qualify as "expenditures" under 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(A).
- 3 By spending over \$1,000 on this communication, Softer Voices may have surpassed the \$1,000
- 4 threshold in expenditures, which provides a basis for believing that Softer Voices triggered
- 5 political committee status. See 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)(A).

2. Softer Voices Has Received Contributions Exceeding \$1,000

The term "contribution" is defined to include "any gift, subscription, lean, advance, or deposit of meansy or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i). A gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person in response to any communication is a contribution to the person making the communication if the communication indicates that any portion of the funds received will be used to support or oppose the election of a clearly identified Federal candidate. 11 C.F.R. § 100.57(a).

There is information available suggesting that Softer Voices received over \$1,000 in funds in response to communications indicating that the funds received would be used to support Rick Santorum's Senate reelection eampaign. Softer Voices solicited donations through its website by pucting fundraising appeals must to video player clips of advertisements such as "We the People," which asked, "Can we really risk Rob Casey learning on the job?" The fundraising appeal asked website readers to "Support Softer Voices. Please help us keep this ad on the air."

The fundraising message clearly indicates that any donated funds will be used to fund Santorum

In fact, the solvertisements were assessal to the varieties ficalinising groups. If you select the "containing to the vebsite's main screen, it takes you to a page containing the clips and the fundraising appeal. Clips also appear on the main page of the website, also next to fundraising appeals stating "help us keep this ad on the air."

- advertising (in fact, over 90% of Softer Voices' spending was for Santorum advertising).8 By
- 2 soliciting funds with a message to donors indicating that the funds received will be used to
- 3 support Santorum's election, Softer Voices may have surpassed the \$1,000
- 4 threshold in contributions, which provides a basis for believing that Softer Voices triggered
- 5 political committee status. See 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4)(A) and 431(8)(A)(i); I1 C.F.R. § 100.57(a).

3. Softer Voices Had the Major Purpose of Federal Campaign Activity

As detailed in the prior excitors, Sufter Voices' public materians, to iterision advertisements, and website materials may establish that the organization's major purpose was Senator Santorum's election. Prominently displayed on the webpage are links to newspaper articles describing Softer Voices, including a link entitled: "Political Group Shells Out \$1M To Boost Santorum's Popularity With Women." The linked article reports that Softer Voices sought to "soften the image of Senator Santorum of Pennsylvania in the hope of boosting his standing with female voters and saving his Senate seat for the Republican Party." See MUR 5854

Complaint, Exhibit F. In the same article, Lisa Schiffren, the co-founder of Softer Voices, is quoted as having stated that the group's ads sought to influence voters (e.g., "It's really important for conservatives to remember and for voters to remember that welfare reform was a conservative issue and that people like Risk Santsram made it happen ..."). In sun, the website was emirely devoted to material concerning Santarum. Its fluidraising message, as set forth on its website, was entirely centered on Santorum and Casey. Further, over 90% of the funds raised were spent

Even though the spanistic records in the appeal do not identify Santonum, the appeal's physical placement next to the Santonum ads and direct reference to the ads results in a clear identification of the candidate. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.57(a). The complaint does not include information on any other written or verbal solicitations, and the Softer Voices response does not provide any further information as to the content of its other solicitations.

on advertising that identified Santorum and/or his opponent, Bob Casey, broadcast shortly before the 2006 general election.

4. Commission Determinations on Political Committee Status

If Softer Voices was operating as a political committee, it must comply with the Act's contribution limitations. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). Softer Voices, however, accepted \$1,355,000 in funds from individuals in excess of \$5,000. Therefore, there is reason to believe that Suffer Voices violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434, and 441a(f) by failing to register as a political committee with the Commission; by failing to disclose its cantributions and expandituses in reports filed with the Commission; and by knowingly accepting individual contributions in excess of \$5,000.

B. Coordinated Communications with Santorum 2006

The complaint in MUR 5831 alleges that Softer Voices made excessive in-kind contributions by coordinating expenditures for the advertisement "Billy Jo" with Santorum 2006. A payment for a coordinated communication constitutes an in-kind contribution to the candidate or committee with whom or which it is coordinated, and must be reported as an expenditure made by that candidate or committee. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(1). A communication is coordinated with a candidate, an authorized committee, a political party sommittee, or agent thereof if it meets a three-part text: (1) payment by a third party; (2) satisfaction of one of four "content" standards; and (3) satisfaction of one of six "conduct" standards. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

In this matter, the first prong of the coordinated communication test is satisfied because

Softer Voices is a "person other than [the] candidate, authorized committee, political party

- committee, or agent of any of the foregoing" that paid for the two television advertisements
- 2 featuring Ms. Morton. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1). The second prong of this test, the content
- 3 standard, is satisfied because Softer Voices' television advertisements both identify Santorum
- 4 and qualify as "public communications" under 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c)(4)(i) because they were
- 5 broadcast within 90 days of the general election. 9
- The third prong, the conduct standard, is met if, inter alia, the communication is made at
- 7 the "request on suggestion" of the candidate or authorized nominities or if the candidate or
- 8 committee "assents to the suggestion" of a person who is paying for the communication.
- 9 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1). The standard can also be met with the "material involvement" of the
- 10 candidate or authorized committee; or after "substantial discussion" with the relevant candidate
- or committee. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(2)-(3). The "material involvement" conduct standard is
- satisfied if a candidate or his authorized committee is materially involved in decisions regarding
- the communication, such as its content, intended audience, means or mode, specific media outlet
- used, timing or frequency, or size or prominence. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(2). Similarly, a
- 15 "substantial discussion" has occurred if material information about the candidate's campaign
- 16 plans, projects, activities or needs is conveyed to a person paying for the communication.
- 17 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(3).
- 18 The complaint assents that Softer Voices condinated its use of the Billy Jo Morton story
- 19 with Santorum or his campaign by obtaining Santorum's "assent" to the expenditure through his
- 20 agreement to sell the rights to the story. Specifically, the complaint maintains that through his
- 21 alleged control over the sale of the book rights, Santorum was in a position to decide whether or

IRS reports indicate that Bofter Voices paid its reptile vendors in September, October, and November 2006.

- not a Softer Voices ad focused on the Morton story would be produced and broadcast. Thus, the
- 2 complaint concludes that the nature of the book rights process allowed Santorum to control or
- 3 influence Softer Voices' communications and that this amounted to a coordinated
- 4 communication under 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1). The Santorum Committee, however, denied any
- 5 involvement with the publisher regarding the sale or use of the story. Given this denial, and
- 6 without any information presented indicating that Santorum may have coordinated with Softer
- 7 Voices to use the Moeton stary by sailing the righes to the stary, there is an insufficient leadin for
- 8 an investigation into whether these may have been soordination in this matter.
- Accordingly, there is no reason to believe that Softer Voices violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a and 434 by making and failing to report excessive contributions, in the form of coordinated
- 11 expenditures, to Santorum 2006.

C. Foreign National Contributions

- 13 The complaint in MUR 5854 alleges that Softer Voices accepted contributions from Jack
- 14 Templeton, who allegedly is a foreign national. The Act prohibits foreign nationals from making
- 15 contributions in connection with an election to any political office and it is unlawful for any
- person to accept such a contribution. 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a). The term "foreign national" refers to
- an implividual who is not a citimen of the United States and wiso is not lawfully admitted for
- 18 permanent residence as defined by 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(20). 2 U.S.C. § 441e(b)(2).
- In response to the complaint, Respondents explain that Jack Templeton is a U.S. citizen
- and speculates that the complainant is confusing him with his father, John Templeton, who is a
- 21 citizen of the Bahamas. A search of public records indicates that Jack Templeton, who
- 22 contributed to Softer Voices, resides in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, where he works as a physician

- 1 and serves as president of the John Templeton Foundation, a charitable organization. The
- 2 Templeton Foundation website states that it was founded by Jack Templeton's father, John
- 3 Templeton, who did not contribute to Softer Voices, and who according to the foundation's
- 4 website is a citizen of the Bahamas.
- 5 Thus, based on the denials from the complaint responses, and evidence on the public
- 6 record which corroburates the respondents' explanation, there is no reason to believe Softer
- 7 Voices violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a).